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Nanny Town excavations: Rewriting Jamaica's history?

E.Kofi Agorsah

Since January 1991, the site of Nanny Town has seen a series of reconnaissance and surveys and two seasons of major excavations, sponsored mainly by the University of the West Indies, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, USA, the Jamaica Natural Heritage Trust, Jamaica Defence Force, Archaeological Society of Jamaica, and the Chief and Council of Moore Town Maroons. Participants included graduate and undergraduate volunteers from various Universities in Canada, USA, and the Caribbean, Maroons from Moore Town, Windsor and Cooper's Hill, Portland, as well as staff and members of the University of the West Indies.

Objectives

The main objectives of the study of maroon communities are: to obtain archaeological data that can be used for the interpretation of the socio-cultural patterns of the behaviour of the Maroons; to determine the factors that contribute to the location and character of Maroon settlements; and to obtain material for dating and providing a chronological framework for the origins and development of maroon heritage in Jamaica. The overall objective is to identify the character and mechanism of the functional adaptation of Maroon societies in Jamaica over time.

Excavation

The site of Nanny Town is strategically located within the loop of the Stony River which marks its southern and eastern boundaries (see Figure 1, page 6). Blocking off the Stony River and standing steeply against its northern bank is the Abraham Hill. To the north and west of the site is Nanny Hill from which the Nanny Falls splashes down on to the level open grounds from which the spring flows onto the south-eastern bend of the Stony River marking the boundary on that side of the site. Figure 1 indicates areas excavated so far and

the nature of the site as mapped during the excavations in 1991 and 1992. The rectangular stone structure believed to be a military fortification built during the British-Maroon wars still remains the main feature at the site. A large block of stone is located nearby with engraved a message that the site was taken and controlled for a brief period by a Captain Brook. It appears to have been tampered with by more recent visitors to the site. Another feature is a more recent stone slab, measuring 27cm by 35cm with the engraving 'Bermuda Regiment 1971'.

WHAT'S IN A PLACE NAME?

The Portland Maroons resisted many attacks before their stronghold of Nanny Town was finally captured by the British in 1734. The British occupied the town until the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1739. After the Treaty, it appears that the Windward Maroons abandoned Nanny Town and established a new community at a place they called New Nanny Town, known today as Moore Town.

The Windward Maroons were led by a formidable guerilla leader called Quao, who was the Maroon signatory on the Peace Treaty with the English. But it is a testament to Nanny's stature as a leader that both Nanny Town and New Nanny Town were named after her, and not after the warrior Quao.

The Rt Excellent Nanny, National Heroine of Jamaica, was African-born, of Asante origin - modern Ghana, in west Africa. During her life, she was the military tactician and spiritual leader of the Windward Maroons, and was reputedly a great magician with supernatural abilities. Nanny was buried in new Nanny Town.

The Stony and Peters Rivers and their tributaries dominate the drainage pattern of the site while the Abraham Hill to the south and Sugar Loaf to the northwest and north of the site dominate the topography of the site and surrounding areas. Rocky and rugged, the Nanny Town site and adjoining areas are engulfed in a thick, lush green vegetation. In addition, the site commands warming sunshine coming through the gap between Abraham Hill and the Sugar Loaf Hills.

The excavation was based on a three-metre grid which was imposed upon the 10 feet grid used by the expedition of 1973 (see page 7). The J4 line which was the J3 of the 1973 expedition was used as the datum line. Northwest corner of each square was used to name the square. The excavation was conducted according to natural levels, reaching only Level 2 in more than 80% of the area excavated, and Level 3 in a few areas, particularly in the eastern sections of the site where much of the material that appears to predate the maroon period of settlement was derived.

Finds

Provisional field inventory of finds indicates that approximately three thousand artifacts were recovered. More than 33% of this total consisted of fragments of green glass bottle, followed by 10% and 15% of local ceramics and metal objects respectively. An interesting feature of the finds is their variety. Analysis and drawing of the finds has already started and should be available soon.

Cultural Phases

Nanny Town is recognised as having seen three cultural phases of occupation, the first which appears to pre-date Maroon presence in the area, with its mixture of local ceramics, stone artifacts as well as shell material.

Continued on page 6

BARBECUE

Another fund-raising barbecue was held on the lawns of the Senior Common Room, UWI, on December 5th 1992, and realised a much-needed surplus of approximately \$2,000 through ticket and bar sales. The attendance was around 100, down on last year's 25th Anniversary barbecue, but more tickets were sold.

Doreen Prendergast and Winston McCullum acted as Masters of Ceremony, and supervised the allocation and distribution of the many spot prizes, donated by generous sponsors. Prizes included three weekends-for-two at the Boscobel Beach Hotel, Sans Souci Hotel and Spa, and Astra Country Inn. The music, which was provided by Mr Gonzalez, of the Jamaica Bauxite Institute, helped to wash down the splendid fare of barbecued chicken, rice and peas, and salad.

All the members of Council were involved in organising the barbecue, and other members volunteered their help too. However, the Society is particularly indebted to a number of individuals for their unrelenting efforts; Larry Neufville, this year as last year, co-ordinated the event; Balfour Spence and Angela Taylor again spent many hours over the hot fire, cooking their deliciously-seasoned chicken; Janet Hyde, Claudia James and Donna and Day-Dawn Simon prepared additional food and fruit punch; Perez Cross organised the drinks bar; and David Miller was on duty at the entrance throughout the event. Sharon Lennon helped co-ordinate the holiday sponsors.

The Society has organised three barbecues in recent years: the first was in June 1991 following that year's AGM, and a second in November 1991, to mark our 25th anniversary (an event which raised \$4,200 for the Society's coffers). All three barbecues have been extremely convivial affairs, enjoyed in a relaxed and pleasant atmosphere. They have provided opportunities for members to renew old friendships, especially for ex-UWI geography graduates. If you have any suggestions for improving what is fast-becoming an important social occasion on the JGS calendar, please contact the Council; and your help is always appreciated.

HILLSIDE AGRICULTURE FIELD TRIP

Althea Johnson writes: The first field trip for 1993 was a visit to a number of the sub-projects of the Hillside Agriculture Project (H.A.P.) on January 23rd. A group of 25 sixth formers from four corporate area high schools and 10 JGS members departed from the Geography Department, UWI, at 8.30am, and joined the Hillside Agriculture Project (H.A.P.) team at the Farmers' Training Centre at Twickenham Park, Spanish Town, shortly afterwards. The day's activities were led by Marlene Lewis (JGS member and UWI geography graduate), and a team of four colleagues from the Ministry of Agriculture.

The field trip entailed visits to four farms located in north eastern St Catherine. The locations were either experimental farms or rehabilitation projects. The objective of the H.A.P. is to preserve the watershed by ensuring that farmers utilize agronomic soil conservation techniques and proper farming (cultural) practices.

The first halt was an unscheduled stop where the group observed the Natural Bridge, 'the eighth wonder of the world'. This outstanding landform is located along the Riversdale main road. It is a natural bridge of hard limestone rock across a narrow gorge formed by the Rio Doro. Other features of the gorge were created from fluvial action and chemical weathering.

The first scheduled stop was at Harewood, the Pineapple management trial, on Mr Winston Morrison's farm. The project specialises in the Cheese and Sugar Loaf varieties of pineapple. The Cowboy and Ripley varieties of Sugar Loaf are common. The project is designed for small farmers with less than 5 acres. There are twelve groups in the project area. The groups are selected by a Farmers Action Committee, using the criteria of land tenure, age, location of the farmer's plot (must be suitable in terms of project design), and a farmer's willingness to participate. Under the project the farmer can rehabilitate old plots or establish experimental plots. The pineapples are planted in rows and ridges to keep the soil together, and the rows are intercropped with coconut or short term crops which are planted on the ridges.

The chemicals used are biodegradable over a seven day period. Urea is the best fertilizer.

The second stop was at Troja, the Mango variety trial on Mr Edward Buchanan's farm. To reach this farm the group had to negotiate a barbed wire fence and a downhill walk. The farm consists of a variety of fruit/food trees. The most important economic trees were mangoes (especially the Nelson, Hayden and Tom Atkins varieties), and these were intercropped with banana, citrus and cedar trees.

Such mixed cropping practices are typical of rural small farmers in Jamaica, to ensure steady incomes, and to spread their risks. The

INTERCROPPING

Mixed intercropping

Growing two or more crops simultaneously in the same field. Intercrop competition may be during all or part of crop growth

Row intercropping

Growing two or more crops simultaneously where one or more crops are planted in rows

Strip intercropping

Growing two or more crops simultaneously in different strips, wide enough to permit independent cultivation, but narrow enough for the crops to interact agronomically

Relay intercropping

Growing two or more crops simultaneously during part of the life cycle of each. A second crop is planted after the first crop has reached its reproductive stage of growth, but before it is harvested.

varieties of mango grown here give a much better return than the Turpentine mango which is common in the area. On Mr Buchanan's 0.8 acres of land, 81 mango trees were planted in October 1991. The farm is divided into three treatment plots and three replica plots. As the trees grow, the farmer has to ensure that the trees are laterally branched and maintain a specific height and stem girth. This will determine the quality of the fruit to be harvested. Although these varieties are susceptible to pests and diseases, preventative measures are rarely used due to costs, and to reduce the inflow of pesticides into the soil.

The third stop was at Pear Tree Grove, a cocoa rehabilitation project on Mr Ferdinand Miller's farm. Before the H.A.P. project was started, the cocoa on Mr Miller's farm was planted in a haphazard way; on a one acre plot, a quarter of an acre of cocoa trees yielded about two and a half boxes of cocoa. Jamaica's national yield is about 5-6 boxes. Under the H.A.P. rehabilitation project, 230 trees were planted in a 10 feet x 10 feet pattern; this one acre of cocoa will yield about 40-60 boxes.

The Cocoa Rehabilitation project aims to encourage the farmers to increase their acreage of cocoa, to plant higher yielding varieties which are disease-resistant, to use fertilizers to increase crop yield, to apply minimum dosage of pesticides to prevent soil contamination, to adopt pruning techniques, and to aim for two harvests per year (following the rainy seasons). The cocoa is sold to the Richmond Fermentary.

The fourth stop was at the Redwood Coffee experiment, the farm of Mr Vincent Logan. On Mr Logan's 3 to 4 acres of gently sloping land, lowland coffee is intercropped with coconut and plantain. The coffee is planted using either

- (1) the Coffee Industry Development Company (CIDCO) standard; one seedling per hole with 5lbs of biogonic fertilizer and 4oz inorganic 8:21:32, or
- (2) the H.A.P. standard of 8lbs of biogonic fertilizer to 4oz inorganic 8:21:32 per seedling per hole, or two seedlings per hole with 5lbs of biogonic and 4oz inorganic.

Since coffee requires 70%-75% of shade, the farmer has to ensure that shade trees are established before the coffee seedlings are planted. Plantain, fast growing plants, are planted at a distance of 10 feet x 10 feet from the coffee, whilst coconuts which provide permanent shade are planted 20 feet x 20 feet.

Coffee plants must be pruned; short internodes and numerous laterals increase the yield. Fertilizing is altered with the rainy season and weeding is done in a circle around the root of the plants.

DISRUPTION TO JGS EVENTS

A combination of prolonged inclement weather, especially in the first four months of 1993, and the general election campaign caused postponement, cancellation, and disruption to many of the planned JGS activities for the year 1992/93. Two field trips, the Hillside Agriculture Project and a coastal geomorphology tour St Mary and Portland were re-arranged, throwing other dates on the calendar awry. Amongst the postponement casualties were a hike to the Treasure Beach-Black River area of southern St Elizabeth (May 22nd), and a field trip to Serge Island. In addition, there was a rain-affected evening talk by Professor Meyer-Rochow on the Onabuasulu Cannibals of Papua New Guinea.

COASTAL GEOMORPHOLOGY FIELD TRIP

Althea Johnson writes: On 27th March, 1993, a group of fearless geographers, comprising A-Level students from five high schools, their teachers, and JGS members, braved heavy rains and embarked upon a field trip around the eastern section of the island. The aim was to observe coastal features, and the trip is becoming almost an annual event on the JGS calendar, for sixth formers in particular.

It began drizzling along the Stony Hill main road, and by the time we reached the mouth of the Wag Water river near Annotto Bay, the rain had become more intense, and the group had to stay in the bus to view the coastal features.

As we continued towards Buff Bay, Hope Bay and St Margaret's Bay, and the Buff Bay River, White River, Spanish River, and Swift River, respectively, we noted that each river had suspended sediments of a brown colour at their mouths, and the material was carried out to sea in a brown band which flowed parallel to the coastline.

The rain ceased for the lunch stop in Port Antonio. After lunch the group went to Folly Point and saw arches, stacks, inlets, and bays, and the offshore island, Woods Island. The

coastal process of wave refraction was well pronounced.

The coastal sediments from this point eastwards towards Manchioneal are quite different from those at the pre-lunch stops. The beach material is biogenic because the sand grains are composed of calcium carbonate, derived from broken shells and other marine invertebrate remains.

The group stopped at Fairy Hill Bay and Long Bay but visibility was very poor. Along this route the coastline is emergent and offshore fringing reefs are common. Uplift has resulted in the development of a raised reef terrace marking a former sea level. At Nettle Point, Manchioneal, the weather was fairer and the group enjoyed a short hike to the highest point on this pronounced reef terrace. The feature has a pitted surface, the product of solution action. Hydraulic action and blow holes were in evidence.

The 10-hour trip was long and tiring; the group returned to Kingston via St Thomas.

VERANDAH TALK

On Thursday, March 25th, Dr Brian Hudson gave an illustrated lecture 'Verandah talk: prospects and refuges from the Antilles to the Antipode'. Drawing on cognitive concepts about shelter and landscape, the audience of about 20 JGS members enjoyed a presentation ranging from slides of Aboriginal caves, Greek stoa, and Inca ruins, to a variety of verandahs, balconies, porches and colonnades from around the Caribbean, Britain and Australia. As always, Dr Hudson's talk was entertaining, thoughtful, and interesting, and his colour slides were of outstanding quality both in terms of subject matter and photographic technique.

Most older JGS members will remember Brian Hudson as a past President and activist for the Society, and a respected former geography lecturer in physical planning at UWI. He is presently lecturing at the Queensland University of Technology in Brisbane. His frequent return visits to the Caribbean have enabled the Society to institutionalise his guest re-appearances.

RESEARCH ON COCKPIT COUNTRY BORDERS

David Barker and David Miller were recently awarded a research grant from the UWI's Research and Publications Committee to continue their research on forest encroachment and farming systems on the edge of Cockpit Country. Previously, they presented a pilot study of the Windsor area, at the British-Geography Seminar in August, 1992.

A principal objective of the project is to investigate and map, in detail, the dynamics of the patterns and processes of encroachment and abandonment on the borders of Cockpit Country, using aerial photography at selected dates, and field mapping. A second component will examine why some farmers choose to cultivate land in the cockpit forests, whilst others prefer to farm outside the forests. Farmers' decision-making behaviour, their perceptions of alternative farming micro-environments, resource use and cropping systems are to be investigated.

In January, the first phase of the project was undertaken; a detailed survey of a hundred farmers in the vicinity of Troy, on the southern border of Cockpit Country. Paulette Meikle, Clinton Beckford and Christopher Charles formed the interview team, and many of their interviews were conducted in remote farming areas deep in the cockpit forests.

The results of the research project should prove useful to the planners in Jamaica's new national parks agency, especially in the difficult geographical task of establishing a meaningful boundary for the national park.

MA FOR KAREN SINCLAIR

Karen, a 1985 geography graduate, recently obtained an MA in Public Administration at Carlton University, Ottawa. She went to Canada on the Institutional Strengthening Programme, (Canadian-Jamaican Training Project) sponsored by CIDA. The focus on Development Administration included courses on Policy Analysis and Environmental Policy. Karen returns to the Planning Institute of Jamaica.

BEWARE OF EARTH SCIENCES

A few years ago, after an IDB review of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, a 10 year development plan was prepared. A suggestion was made that the departments of geography and geology be merged, to become a Department of Earth Sciences. No academic grounds were advanced to support this, and both departments objected strongly to it.

Geography and Geology staff are totally opposed to a merger. However, as a counter proposal, staff suggested that the Departments retain their identities, but withdraw from the Faculty of Natural Sciences to form a separate School of Earth Sciences and Resource Management. Strangely, this idea has curried favour amongst some members of the Faculty, and a School of Biological Sciences has also been proposed. The ramifications of such drastic structural reorganisation, should it go ahead, are unclear, but conceivably could be terminal for the Faculty of Natural Sciences in its present form as, clearly, Faculties and Schools cannot co-exist under a single administrative structure and Dean.

Both Departments need support and their physical plant, technical resources and technical staff strengthened, but in their own right, not as a chimera department. For example, there are several areas where Geography needs strengthening; it does not have an established Chair, and a crucial lectureship in physical planning which was frozen for 5 years still remains unfilled; it does not have any research labs - a Geomorphology Lab, a Remote Sensing Lab and a Computer Mapping Lab are all normal features of modern university geography departments.

Professional geographers and Society members can take some comfort from a letter from the Vice Chancellor assuring that no decision has been taken on the merger of the two departments, although a proposal for a joint School is under consideration.

It is a matter of amusement and concern that members of the general public and the media frequently confuse geography and geology; they begin with the same prefix. It reflects intellectual indolence, however, when, as often happens on campus, colleagues and other students confuse the two subjects and their separate teaching and research contributions.

*Geography was introduced as a university subject at UWI in 1965 as a result of lobbying from members of the geographical fraternity in Jamaica. Clearly, further public education is needed to highlight the distinctiveness of geography. So, **Jamaican Geographer** will feature items on the nature of geography in future issues.*

Geographers are entitled to question why a basic and established academic discipline is so undervalued in the Caribbean region, when UWI geography graduates clearly make significant contributions to public service throughout the West Indies. In the region's schools, geography's turf has been infiltrated by the American-inspired, social studies, even though in UK schools geography has been declared a core subject.

Meanwhile, geographers are encouraged to be vigilant, vocal and active in supporting the integrity of their subject, and in recognition of their own professional qualifications; a degree in Geography.

Editor

CLAUDETTE HALL

Claudette, a 1983 geography graduate, recently obtained a Masters degree in Urban and Regional Planning (M.U.R.P.) from Alabama A & M University at Huntsville. The course focussed on environmental planning,

and her dissertation was entitled 'Loss of wetlands in the urbanised area of Madison County 1979-1989, and an assessment of the policies designed for wetland protection'.

Claudette taught in The Bahamas before pursuing her graduate work.

GEOGRAPHY TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

The Geography Teachers Association of Jamaica is an organisation whose objectives are to keep geography alive in the classroom, to look at problems related to the teaching of geography, and to make suggestions and recommendations on aspects of the syllabus as it relates to the teaching of geography. The aim is to get more students involved in geography with proper motivation from their teachers.

Most of the Association's work in the academic year 1992-93 was centred around the School Based Assessment component of the CXC syllabus. This is in the form of a field study undertaken by students at the general proficiency level.

The field study, though not a new component of the CXC geography syllabus, was optional up to 1993. The field study (termed the S.B.A.) will be compulsory for all CXC geography students at the general proficiency level from 1994, and has to be submitted by March. Only a few schools had experience of the S.B.A. prior to this; the majority had not undertaken field studies previously. In order to prepare both teachers and students for the field study, a series of workshops and seminars were organised by the Association.

The first major event was a residential workshop held at Moneague Teachers' College in St Ann, from March 4th-7th, 1992. Geography teachers from over 50 schools across the island participated in the workshop which was spearheaded by Mrs Marjorie Vassell, Education Officer in charge of geography in the Ministry of Education, and Mrs Lorna Fraser, then geography teacher at Holy Childhood High School.

During the workshop, teachers were taken through all aspects of the field study, from the preliminaries through the actual field study and then the writing up of the field study report. The exercise was designed to be similar to that expected of students' work for the CXC field study. The course field reports were marked, and each school which had a participating teacher at the workshop was sent a complete set of the field reports.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Association, held at Caenwood Auditorium on November 6th, 1992, Mrs Vassell presented an assessment of the fieldwork. She pointed out some common errors made by teachers and encouraged them not to allow the students to make similar mistakes.

Some of the teachers who were unable to attend the Moneague workshop requested a follow-up one-day seminar to assist them in preparing their students for the field study. Consequently, the Association organised another seminar at Caenwood Auditorium on March 12th, 1993. At this seminar, teachers met in groups where they formulated a series of topics and possible aims and objectives.

There was also a general meeting of the Association in January, 1993 which discussed the following topics:

1. Grade 1-9 syllabus

Teachers were divided into groups to look at the present grades 7-9 curriculum and to make suggestions and recommendations for a draft curriculum, to be presented at a later date.

2. Problems and solutions in the A-level geography syllabus.

This was effectively dealt with by Mrs Fong Kong, senior geography teacher at Immaculate Conception High School.

3. Logo for the Association.

4. Summary of 1992 geography CXC results.

This was dealt with by Mrs Lorna Fraser, Senior Marker for S.B.A. Once again a dismal performance by Jamaican students was noted, particularly in the area of analysis.

5. An A-Level workshop

There was a proposal for an A-level geography teachers' workshop, to examine types of questions and answers.

The Association's Executive, along with guidance of Mrs Vassell and Mrs Fraser, has managed to motivate teachers to continue to work hard to improve the focus on geography and to stress to students the importance of the subject.

The Association is still very active in trying to foster a better geographical relationship between students and the environment.

Yvonne Lee, Secretary

ARAWAK QUIZ

1. In which West Indian country are there still Arawak Amerindians living today?
2. What was the Arawak name for Jamaica?
3. What was the name, meaning 'magic power', that Arawaks gave to their gods?
4. What is the technical term used for Arawak rock drawings?
5. What was the name used by the Spanish to refer to an Arawak chief or nobleman?
6. What was the name of the digging sticks used by the Arawaks to make holes in the ground to plant seeds?
7. Which was the principal tree that the Arawaks used to construct their dug-out canoes, some of which were 100 feet long?
8. Where is the Arawak museum in Jamaica located?
9. What was the name given to the ball game which was played by the Arawaks?
10. What was the name given to the small barkless dog, (*now, sadly, extinct*), that the Arawaks used to hunt coney?

GEOGRAPHY CLUBS

If your school has a geography club or geography society, write to the Editor and tell us about its main activities during the school year. You could also tell us how it is organised, and who its officers are. Perhaps you would like to contact a similar organisation in another school, to organise joint events or pen pals?

If your school does not yet have a geography club, maybe you need help and advice in setting up a new club? The JGS can assist, and put you in touch with schools that have active Geography Clubs.

Hill and Gully Notes

GETTING THERE

Sam Bandara, a member of each of the recent expeditions, has experienced both methods of travelling to the site of Nanny Town.

He explains that in 1991 the JDF flew the research team to the site in a helicopter. A landing site had been previously cleared and bushed by Maroons. In 1992, the team had to travel to the site on foot, starting from Windsor in the Rio Grande valley. The journey, with large backpacks and using mules for only part of the journey, took three days, and involved two nights in makeshift huts with plastic sheeting for roofing.

Conditions en route and at the site are extremely tough and, in the absence of radio-contact, fraught with danger. A foot injury to a team member on one occasion, fortunately, was not serious enough to cause problems, but underscored the need for care in negotiating the precipitous and rugged terrain.

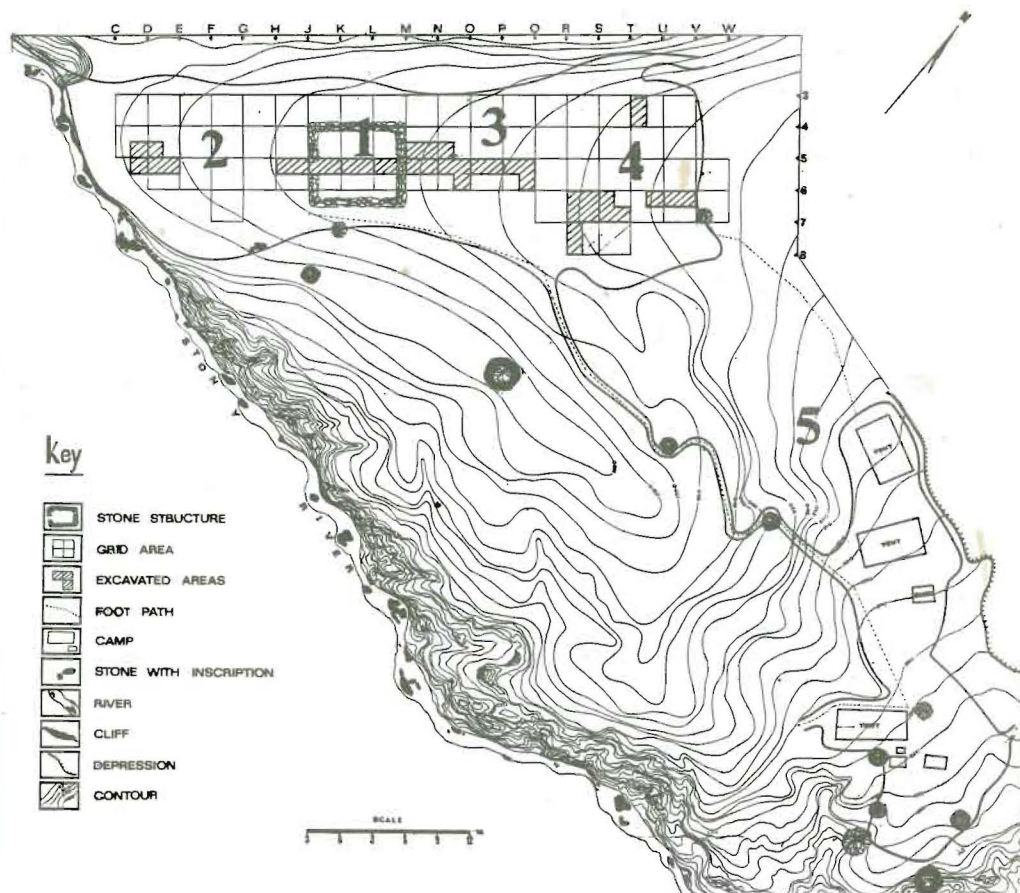


Figure 1: Site of Nanny Town.

In some areas, this phase is presented by artifacts that have been provisionally referred to a Pre-maroon. Some of the participants in the excavation think the makers of the artifacts of this phase might be Arawak. No date can be assigned to this phase yet although it is highly suspected to date between 1500 and 2000 years ago.

The second phase at the Nanny Town site, provisionally referred to as the Maroon phase of occupation, contains ceramics much of which are local grinding stones and a considerable amount of charcoal which, if dated, should hopefully facilitate our understanding of its relationship to other phases. Much of the charcoal comes from levels that contain plenty of ashy layers on surfaces that appear to have been trampled upon or beaten. One fragment of red clay pipe bowl, fragments of gun flint, gun barrel, musket balls, iron nails, green and clear glass bottles are finds from the Maroon phase. Artifacts from the Maroon phase are difficult to distinguish from a later phase representing the period of Maroon encounter with British forces at the site. A date of 400-500

years ago is provisionally assigned to the Maroon phase.

In addition to the finds mentioned above, the Maroon phase, like that of the phase which followed it, contained kaolin smoking pipe stems and bowls, pharmaceutical tools such as scissors, buttons, a coin (Dutch or Spanish origin), a glass bead, fragments of imported ceramics and fragments of a gun barrel.

The third phase is represented by the stone fortification as well as engraved stones. The main finds of this phase include many fragments of smoking pipes, buttons, fragments of gun barrels, buttons, pharmaceutical bottles, nails, imported ceramic bowls, plates and cups, buckles, and a large quantity of green glass bottle fragments. A few post holes are associated with this phase at the site. One of

them appears to represent the location of a flag post, possibly erected by the British forces. This hole, approximately 1.5 metres deep from the surface, was lined with stones and located against the back wall of the stone structure.

Some observations

Although no dates are available yet for the phases mentioned, the results appear to be very interesting because they raise many issues that suggest the need to begin to rethink interpretation of the history of Jamaica. That Nanny Town was a stronghold which has seen considerable military action is clearly confirmed by the evidence. A striking discovery is that the evidence seems to suggest that Nanny Town has been occupied for a fairly long period of time, and that its occupation

could date to periods before colonial contact. This possibility becomes even more attractive if the speculation that the artifacts suggested to be prehistoric or Arawak is confirmed. In this case, one could further suggest that Nanny Town may have been a stronghold or a hiding place of escapees during the Spanish period, and who may have been some of the traditional groups that the Spanish encountered on their arrival. It also appears that some of the traditional groups who may have been on the island and who were already settled at Nanny Town before the Spanish came in, may have eventually welcomed and accommodated escapees from both Spanish and English periods. If we assume that the prehistoric groups were Arawaks, it would suggest that the very first escapees were also Arawaks. Would that mean that the first Maroons were Arawaks? Possibly.

Another issue that follows from the above discussion is that association between material of the first two phases points to the suggestion that a few of the Arawaks who may have escaped into the inaccessible parts of the Blue Mountains and similar places were still around at the time the English sacked the Spanish from the island. Books on the history of Jamaica will have to correct the erroneous impression that the Arawaks had all been exterminated by the Spanish. It appears from the evidence from Nanny Town (pending results of dates), that prehistoric Arawak groups in hideouts in inaccessible areas of Jamaica may have been gradually absorbed into the structure of escaped slave groups which later joined them.

Material associated with the stone structure at the site of Nanny Town clearly supports the view that the structure was not built by the Maroons (as is usually claimed in Maroon oral traditions). The feature may have been used later after the Maroons took over the site but only after the British had left Nanny Town.

Not much can be said about other issues such as the relationship between Nanny Town and other known Maroon settlements in the vicinity of the site as well as those in other parts of the island during the period of its occupation, and the social network that may have bound them in any relationships. It is also premature to speculate about the structural pattern of the settlement because not much of the site has not yet been excavated.

BLUE MOUNTAINS EXPEDITION TO NANNY TOWN, 1973-74

Though probably known to Maroon hog hunters, the actual site of Nanny Town was brought to the attention of the scientific community by Alan Teulon, in 1967. He found a carved stone built by the English soldiers who occupied the town between 1734 and 1739.

Between December 1973 and January 1974, the Scientific Exploration Society with the co-operation of the Institute of Jamaica mounted an expedition to the site of Nanny Town, led by Lt. Harley Nott. Site Director of the Expedition, Tony Bonner, described the site as 'little disturbed since abandoned about 235 years ago and there was a scattering of artifacts on the surface of the ground, mainly early 18th century British green bottle fragments. There may have been an occasional visit from a hog hunter; while some blank cartridge cases show evidence of a visit by military personnel in recent years'.

The expedition team undertook archaeological work at the site and recovered many artifacts such as musket barrels, musket balls, hammers and flints for muskets, clay pipes, buttons, early green glass bottle necks and bases, iron axe heads and red earthenware. The collection and the photographs taken on the expedition are housed in the Institute of Jamaica.

Sources and further reading

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With much more data on the physical nature of the settlement as well as those of other maroon sites, it should be possible to attempt serious generalisations on the character and mechanism of the functional adaptation of the maroons over time.

There is a very strong chance that the final results will require that some issues of the history of Jamaica be revised. The results of the 1991 excavation appear to have re-opened the opportunity towards the understanding and better appreciation of the heritage of the maroons within the general history of Jamaica.

The University of the West Indies research programme continues with further excavations and it is hoped that more evidence will be obtained which will provide an expanded

version of the generalisations being made. It cannot be assumed that much has been achieved at this time. All the material (finds, slides, photo prints etc) of this excavation are housed in the Archaeological Laboratory of the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, where analysis is being conducted. The next and last major excavation season at Nanny Town is scheduled for August 6th to September 2nd this year.

Kofi is a member of the Department of History at Mona, and he has firmly established the study of Archaeology at UWI. He is also a JGS Member.

NEWS OF MEMBERS

Michael Tharkur has joined the Caribbean Development Bank in Barbados, teaming up with **Cheryl Dixon**, who is currently the Head of the Environmental Desk at the same Institution. Michael, like Cheryl, was working for the Planning Institute of Jamaica at the time of recruitment, and was also a member of the JGS Council.

Lorna Fraser, one of Jamaica's most experienced geography teachers, is leaving Holy Childhood High School to take up a position at the Ministry of Education.

Mrs Thelora Reynolds, formerly a geography teacher at Munro College in St Elizabeth, has joined the staff of the University of the West Indies, as warden of Mary Seacole Hall of Residence.

Agatha Addy, formerly geography teacher at Jamaica College, has joined the staff of the Natural Resources Conservation Authority.

OVERSEAS MEMBERS

The Council is encouraging members to recruit friends from overseas to join the Society. Former geography graduates of UWI are particularly welcome, and may wish to use the opportunity to stay in touch with Jamaica and the Geography Department at UWI. Annual overseas membership is US\$5.

ARAWAK ANSWERS

1. Guyana
2. Xaymaca
3. Zemi
4. Petroglyphs
5. Caciques
6. Coas
7. Silk Cotton Tree
8. White Marl, just outside Spanish Town; it is the site of a former Arawak village
9. Batos
10. Alcos

PAST PRESIDENTS

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1969/70	Ms Dawn Marshall
1970/71	Mr Lawson Nurse
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